# Message Text

### CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 164903 ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 SS-15 NSC-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 /060 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:JGHUFF
APPROVED BY EUR:GVEST
EUR/SOV:MLEVITSKY
D/HA:CBRODY
C:RHOPPER
D:DLAMB
EUR/RPM:WTSHINN
EUR/RPM:JKORNBLUM
NSC:GTREVERTON
S/S-O;TGMARTIN

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O R 142344Z JUL 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 164903

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR, CSCE

SUBJECT: CANADIAN PROPOSAL FOR NATO CONSULTATIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CSCE

REFS: (A) USNATO 6338 (B) USNATO 6768

1. EXISTING GUIDANCE AND US POLICY STATEMENTS SHOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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PROVIDE GOOD BASIS FOR MISSION COMMENTS ON CANADIAN PROPOSAL AT JULY 15 PRIVATE PERMREPS' MEETING. IN RESPONSE TO MISSION REQUEST CONTAINED REF B, HOWEVER, WE HAVE PREPARED FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE WHICH SHOULD BE USED TO REPLY MORE SPECIFICALLY TO CANADIAN SPEAKING NOTES RE HUMAN RIGHTS CONTAINED REF A, PARA 13.

- 2. FOLLOWING ARE SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MISSION USE:
- (A) WE BELIEVE THE US GENERAL POLICY STATEMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY REFERRED, PLUS THE BILATERAL AND NATO DISCUSSION WITH ALLIES ON CSCE TOPICS, DEFINE THE GENERAL CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH WE EXPECT TO PURSUE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AT BELGRADE.

OF COURSE. WE PLACE A HIGH PREMIUM ON THE VIEWS OF OUR ALLIES, AND WILL CONTINUE TO REFINE OUR OWN POSITION IN LIGHT OF THOSE VIEWS. WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING HELP TO PROMOTE THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF THE WHOLE PROCESS: NAMELY. THE PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT A CONFRONTATION APPROACH WOULD PREJUDICE SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS AND COULD ENDANGER THE HOLDING OF FURTHER BELGRADE-TYPE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS SHOULD WE DECIDE-AS PROBA-BLE-THESE ARE IN OUR INTEREST. MOREOVER, WE RECOGNIZE THAT A POLEMICAL EXCHANGE OVER HUMAN RIGHTS IN BELGRADE COULD UNDERCUT OTHER EFFORTS TO RESOLVE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS WITH THE EAST, SUCH AS THE POSITIVE EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF ETHNIC GERMANS WHICH THE FRG HAS PURSUED OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS. CONFIDENTIAL.

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B. WE ARE SYMPATHETIC TO THE CANADIAN EFFORT AT THE JUNE 30 PRIVATE PERMREPS' MEETING TO DRAW ALLIED ATTENTION TO THE BELGRADE-RELATED PROBLEMS POSED BY HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. WE AGREE THAT THESE ISSUES ARE VERY SENSITIVE MATTERS FOR THE EASTERN COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THE SOVIET UNION. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT NOT TO PUSH THE DISCUSSION TO AND BEYOND THE POINT OF CONFRONTATION. IN OUR VIEW, ALLIED GOALS ARE STATED CLEARLY IN C-M(77)29 AS "EXTENDING THE MARGIN OF TOLERANCE' IN EASTERN COUNTRIES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND IN LONG TERM, TO ENCOURAGE THE EAST TO COMPLY FULLY WITH FINAL ACT PROVISIONS. THE EMPHASIS IN OUR VIEW SHOULD BE ON THE LONG TERM. A PRIME ALLIED GOAL AT BELGRADE SHOULD BE TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR CONTINUATION OF THE CSCE PROCESS IN ALL THREE BASKETS. WE CONSIDER ALSO THAT THERE IS SOME REAL PROSPECT FOR FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION AND INTEND TO ENCOURAGE THE EAST IN THIS DIRECTION THROUGH BILATERAL AND OTHER CONTACTS UP TO, DURING, AND AFTER THE BELGRADE MAIN MEETING. WE PLAN ANOTHER ROUND OF BILATERALS WITH EASTERN CSCE STATES BEFORE THE FALL MEETING

BEGINS. THE MAIN EMPHASIS IN SUCH BILATERAL EFFORTS, AS WELL AS AT THE CONFERENCE ITSELF SHOULD, IN OUR VIEW, BE ON THE LONG-TERM NATURE OF THE PROCESS.

C. OUR AREAS OF MAIN CONCERN ARE FIRMLY GROUNDED IN THE COMMITMENTS CONTAINED IN THE FINAL ACT, AND WE BELIEVE WE SHARE BASIC OBJECTIVES WITH THE OTHER NATO ALLIES. SOME OF US UNDOUBTEDLY WILL BE CONCERNED WITH ONE ASPECT OF THE ACT MORE THAN ANOTHER: THIS BEING THE

CASE, THERE APPEAR TO BE SOME ADVANTAGES IN A CERTAIN DEGREE OF DIVERSITY OF APPROACH TO THE EAST WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A WELL-ORCHESTRATED AND AGREED OVERALL ALLIED STRATEGY. WE HAVE ADDRESSED THIS STRATEGY IN CONFIDENTIAL.

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NUMEROUS NATO DISCUSSIONS, AND IT WILL BE FURTHER REFINED IN ALLIED CONTACTS AFTER TERMINATION OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING.

D. WE BELIEVE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED ON SEVERAL LEVELS IN BELGRADE. THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY, AS NOTED BY AMBASSADOR HARDY, WILL BE IN THE OPENING PLENARY SPEECHES BY HEADS OF DELEGATION. THESE STATEMENTS WILL GO A LONG WAY IN ESTABLISHING THE ATMOSPHERE AND IN SETTING THE GENERAL TONE FOR THE MEETING--AND OF COURSE WILL BE ABOUT THE CSCE PROCESS AS A WHOLE. WE AGREE THAT IN THESE STATEMENTS WE SHOULD AVOID MAJOR DIFFERENCES OF ALLIED APPROACH AND WE ARE ANXIOUS TO WORK WITH OUR ALLIES ON THE OVERALL APPROACH TO BE TAKEN IN THE SPEECHES DURING OUR CONSULTATIONS THIS SUMMER LEADING TO THE

E. HUMAN RIGHTS--AS WELL AS OTHER---ISSUES WILL ALSO BE ADDRESSED IN CLOSED PLENARY AND COMMITTEE SESSIONS. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN EXCHANGING VIEWS WITH ALLIES OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS AS TO THE DEGREE OF SPECIFICITY I.E. INDIVIDUAL CASES THAT SHOULD APPROPRIATELY BE USED WITH THE EAST ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES. ADDITIONALLY, YOU ARE AWARE THAT WE HAVE PLACED A GREAT DEAL OF EMPHASIS IN ALLIED DISCUSSION THUS FAR ON THE NEED TO DEVELOP GENERAL THEMES WHICH WOULD EXPRESS THE ESSENCE OF WESTERN INTERESTS ON CSCE TOPICS. THESE THEMES WOULD PLAINLY EXPRESS WESTERN INTERESTS TO THE EAST, AND FROM THEM RELATED NEW PROPOSALS COULD BE DEVELOPED. ALLIED USE OF WELL-DEVELOPED THEMES MAY ALSO BE USEFUL IN BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DIPLOMACY AT BELGRADE. CONFIDENTIAL

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TO WHICH AMBASSADOR HARDY REFERRED IN HIS JUNE 30 REMARKS. FYI: IF THE ISSUE OF SPECIFIC CASES IS RAISED, SAY THAT WE HAVE NOT YET REACHED A DECISION ON THE PLACE THEY SHOULD HAVE IN DISCUSSIONS AND WELCOME ALLIED VIEWS. WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE ALLIED EFFORT TO DEVELOP WESTERN THEMES FOR USE AT BELGRADE, AND OUR EFFORTS TO REFINE POSSIBLE WESTERN NEW PROPOSALS, GO FORWARD AT A BRISK PACE. WE BELIEVE THAT FURTHER DISCUSSION OF ALLIED TACTICS AND STRATEGY REGARDING

MAJOR ISSUES AT BELGRADE, SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS, SHOULD BE PURSUED AS SOON AS THE RESULTS OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING ARE KNOWN AND SHOULD CONTINUE THROUGH THE INTERVENING WEEKS UNTIL THE MAIN MEETING BEGINS.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /005 R

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DRAFTED BY:EUR/RPM:JGHUFF APPROVED BY:EUR/RPM:WSHINN, JR.

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R 160230Z JUL 77 FM SECSTATE WASHDC INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 164903

FOLLOWING SECSTATE 164903 SENT ACTION NATO INFO BELGRADE JULY 14, 1977 REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 164903

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR, CSCE

SUBJECT: CANADIAN PROPOSAL FOR NATO CONSULTATIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CSCE

REFS: (A) USNATO 6338 (B) USNATO 6768

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13.

- 2. FOLLOWING ARE SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MISSION USE:
- (A) WE BELIEVE THE US GENERAL POLICY STATEMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY REFERRED, PLUS THE BILATERAL AND NATO DISCUSSION WITH ALLIES ON CSCE TOPICS, DEFINE THE GENERAL CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH WE EXPECT TO PURSUE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AT BELGRADE.

OF COURSE, WE PLACE A HIGH PREMIUM ON THE VIEWS OF OUR ALLIES, AND WILL CONTINUE TO REFINE OUR OWN POSITION IN LIGHT OF THOSE VIEWS. WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING HELP TO PROMOTE THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF THE WHOLE PROCESS; NAMELY, THE PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT A CONFRONTATION APPROACH WOULD PREJUDICE SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS AND COULD ENDANGER THE HOLDING OF FURTHER BELGRADE-TYPE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS SHOULD WE DECIDE-AS PROBA-BLE-THESE ARE IN OUR INTEREST. MOREOVER, WE RECOGNIZE THAT A POLEMICAL EXCHANGE OVER HUMAN RIGHTS IN BELGRADE COULD UNDERCUT OTHER EFFORTS TO RESOLVE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS WITH THE EAST, SUCH AS THE POSITIVE EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF ETHNIC GERMANS WHICH THE FRG HAS PURSUED OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS.

B. WE ARE SYMPATHETIC TO THE CANADIAN EFFORT AT THE JUNE 30 PRIVATE PERMREPS' MEETING TO DRAW ALLIED ATTENTION TO THE BELGRADE-RELATED PROBLEMS POSED BY HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. WE AGREE THAT THESE ISSUES

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PARTICULARLY THE SOVIET UNION. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT NOT TO PUSH THE DISCUSSION TO AND BEYOND THE POINT OF CONFRONTATION. IN OUR VIEW, ALLIED GOALS ARE STATED CLEARLY IN C-M(77)29 AS "EXTENDING THE MARGIN OF TOLERANCE' IN EASTERN COUNTRIES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND IN LONG TERM, TO ENCOURAGE THE EAST TO COMPLY FULLY WITH FINAL ACT PROVISIONS. THE EMPHASIS IN OUR VIEW SHOULD BE ON THE LONG TERM. A PRIME ALLIED GOAL AT BELGRADE SHOULD BE TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR CONTINUATION OF THE CSCE PROCESS IN ALL THREE BASKETS. WE CONSIDER ALSO THAT THERE IS SOME REAL PROSPECT FOR FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION AND INTEND TO ENCOURAGE THE EAST IN THIS DIRECTION THROUGH BILATERAL AND OTHER CONTACTS UP TO, DURING, AND AFTER THE BELGRADE MAIN MEETING. WE PLAN ANOTHER ROUND OF BILATERALS WITH EASTERN CSCE STATES BEFORE THE FALL MEETING BEGINS. THE MAIN EMPHASIS IN SUCH BILATERAL EFFORTS, AS WELL AS AT THE CONFERENCE ITSELF SHOULD, IN OUR VIEW, BE ON THE LONG-TERM NATURE OF THE PROCESS.

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CASE, THERE APPEAR TO BE SOME ADVANTAGES IN A CERTAIN DEGREE OF DIVERSITY OF APPROACH TO THE EAST WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A WELL-ORCHESTRATED AND AGREED OVERALL ALLIED STRATEGY. WE HAVE ADDRESSED THIS STRATEGY IN NUMEROUS NATO DISCUSSIONS, AND IT WILL BE FURTHER REFINED IN ALLIED CONTACTS AFTER TERMINATION OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING.

D. WE BELIEVE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED ON SEVERAL LEVELS IN BELGRADE. THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY, CONFIDENTIAL

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AS NOTED BY AMBASSADOR HARDY, WILL BE IN THE OPENING PLENARY SPEECHES BY HEADS OF DELEGATION. THESE STATEMENTS WILL GO A LONG WAY IN ESTABLISHING THE ATMOSPHERE AND IN SETTING THE GENERAL TONE FOR THE MEETING--AND OF COURSE WILL BE ABOUT THE CSCE PROCESS

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# Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X

Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am Channel Indicators: n/a **Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: HUMAN RIGHTS, PAPERS, BRIEFING MATERIALS

Control Number: n/a

Copy: SINGLE Sent Date: 14-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am Decaption Note:

Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 22 May 2009 Disposition Event: Disposition Event:
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE164903
Document Source: Core

**Document Unique ID: 00** Drafter: JGHUFI Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS

Errors: N/A **Expiration:** 

Film Number: D770251-0926

Format: TEL From: STATE

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770756/aaaabwct.tel

Line Count: 375 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8b6c566b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a

Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Reference: n/a Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags: Review Date: 09-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am

Review Event: Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** 

Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 1856271 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: CANADIAN PROPOSAL FOR NATO CONSULTATIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CSCE

TAGS: PFOR, CA, NATO, CSCE To: NATO BRUSSELS

Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/8b6c566b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009